

12
Inaugural Address

OF

WILLIAM C. SPROUL

DELIVERED AT

Harrisburg, January 21, 1919

On the Occasion of His Inauguration as
Governor of Pennsylvania



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INAUGURAL ADDRESS

My Fellow Citizens: Having taken the obligation necessary for my induction into the great office to which you have called me, please permit me, before we enter upon a discussion of the issues of the time, to return my grateful acknowledgment of your confidence and trust and to express the profound feeling of responsibility and the grave sense of respect and devotion with which I accept the service. A long experience in the Senate of the Commonwealth has given me, I believe, a full realization of the importance of the duties of the Governorship and has not lessened my appreciation of the problems and difficulties confronting the incumbent. With a pride, however, in Pennsylvania, her history and her institutions, which is reverential, with full dependence upon the sound judgment and the patriotism of our citizenship, and an abiding faith in the Divine Power, which has so blessed us always, I take up the administration of your affairs hopefully and courageously.

These are wonderful times in which we are living. Events of tremendous effect upon the political and social structures of mankind that, in ordinary times, would be appalling, are happening with such frequency that we accept them almost without surprise. The great war came to an end quickly and triumphantly for us, but it has left in its stead new problems and new perils, more menacing to true Democracy and to civilization than anything that history records. Here, in the peaceful capital of this mighty State, with all in good taste and good order about us, with our people attending quietly to their affairs and their government changing hands according to their expressed choice and as ordained by their laws, it is difficult for us to visualize the wave of disorder and destruction which is sweeping over a large part of the civilized world, engulfing races and nations and tumbling them about in confusion and chaos. Ambitious anarchists have seized the opportunity to exploit systems of social tyranny unheard of in their brutal harshness, and malign adventurers with terrorism as their weapons have usurped the chief

power in many lands and are defiling the sanctuaries of the people and plundering and killing at will. Some of the more ambitious of these international revolutionists, absolutely without conception of our governmental organization, our national ideals or our individual spirit, have even undertaken to create unrest and to promote treason in this country and in this State, through cunning propaganda and diabolical crimes.

No government which could be devised by sane men would suit these anarchists. They are arrayed against all government and all restraint. They are enemies of civilization and of the Church of God. They respect no law, but insist upon license to do as they please without regard to the rights, the property, the religion or even the lives of others. Their leaders avow that they have no affection for the land that gave them birth nor for the nation which sheltered them and gave them asylum from persecution abroad. That such a doctrine should obtain a foothold in the United States is unthinkable, and yet there are abundant evidences of its malevolent activities here. The "missionary fund" gathered from the looted treasuries of Russia is already having its effect in certain directions in stirring up the mercenaries of agitation and in inspiring specious writings from some of the half-baked social philosophers who feed upon excitement and turmoil. Retained to spread hatred of everything that appears like thrift or contentment or love of country, these disturbers will make some headway—they will attempt to capitalize the industrial difficulties growing out of the readjustment, and they may attract to their malicious cause some of the restless, the ignorant, the unfit, the irresponsible and the criminal. While the followers of this brutal cult will at no time be numerous, as compared with the great body of sober, sensible, sound-minded Americans, they will be insidious, and will impress some of the timid and the unreasoning, even among our statesmen, with their strength.

This political distemper, called Bolshevism, has had its origin in countries where ignorance and force prevailed and where there was entire lack of opportunity for the deserving and lack of care for the unfortunate. There is no room for it to grow in an enlightened State where the rights of the humblest and of the strongest

are alike guarded and the door of opportunity opens to all who seek it. The antidote for this social infection, as we shall apply it in Pennsylvania, is good public administration, the best of popular education; generous, progressive, humane laws, and thorough justice, backed by an alert, forceful and God-fearing public sentiment. Pennsylvanians are resolutely patriotic; they have a love of country and a faith in its institutions that is proverbial; they have a just pride in their State and a respect for their communities and their homes. Our people want no mongrel government, devised by fanatics foreign to us in speech, in vision and in purpose, without tradition and without faith, envious of our national strength and prosperity and anxious to disrupt us as a nation and paralyze us as a people. We want to develop our own Democracy, made in America, for America's needs and America's great destiny. We will not give this splendid Republic away to its enemies.

But confident as we are of our national safety, we must not ignore the menace in our midst. After having made sure that we have done those things which should be done to ensure to our citizens those blessings that the government belonging to them should give them, we must not tolerate the social wild-men who would overthrow our Republic. The government at Washington must be alert in protecting us against an invasion through our ports of those who would seek to destroy this nation, and must assist in hunting out and returning to the lands from which they came those who are not satisfied to become Americans and will not accept our guarantees of justice and liberty. Here in Pennsylvania every power of the State must be used, first by beneficent enactment and administration to give every man, woman and child who shall deserve it a stake in the Commonwealth, and then to repress vigorously and effectively those who would injure or destroy our institutions and our true freedom. Eternal vigilance is still the price of liberty, and I earnestly call upon our people to be vigilant and determined in meeting the issues which must come up to us, to respect their own laws and to uphold the administration of them. Peace, orderly government and liberty, regulated by law, are prime essentials for the prosperity and happiness of all of us.

CO-OPERATION IN GOVERNMENT.

Thus early in my executive career, I desire to say that having submitted my candidacy for Governor to the people, at the primary election, upon a declaration of purpose, or a platform as we call it, and having reiterated this declaration before the general election, I feel that my course of action in office should follow as nearly as may well be, the principles upon which my candidacy was based. I desire particularly to say now to those who will be my associates in the government, that I am more than ever convinced that a policy of co-operation and not of coercion is the proper basis for our relations. To the members of the two houses of the Legislature, whom I meet here today in joint gathering for the first time at this session, may I say, that after participating as a member in thirteen sessions of the General Assembly, I have not only thorough appreciation but complete respect for the positions you occupy, the responsibilities you assume and the rights you possess. It is the duty of the Governor to recommend to the Legislature such measures as he may deem necessary or important. This duty he may not disregard. I shall feel free to address you upon public matters whenever it seems desirable that I should do so, and I shall urge your consideration of and action upon matters which are essential to the program of progress and efficiency to which we are committed. But it was never intended that the political power of the Executive should be used to control legislation or to influence or dominate political action. The exercise of such power in the State or nation is dangerous and the growth of this practice gives concern to far-seeing patriots. That it is in conflict with the underlying principles of our form of government and is subversive of the constitution, I firmly believe. The absolute integrity and independence of the three great divisions of our governmental organization is essential in the system of checks and balances which preserve our rights and have made our constitutional administration so successful and so permanent. We must get back to first principles in many ways, but in none more certainly than in this. I fervently desire and thoroughly rely upon your broad-minded co-operation and assistance in the important matters which we together must handle. If I cannot deserve this co-operation upon your part I

shall not try to compel it by any threatening use of the power temporarily placed in my hands. Let us work together in entire confidence and real earnestness to perform our solemn duties, with no masters to serve but the people of Pennsylvania, who have trusted us so completely.

REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

For many years there has been more or less demand for a new constitution for the Commonwealth. On one or two occasions this demand has become insistent and some movement was made toward a general overhauling of the State's fundamental law. Meanwhile there have been amendments by wholesale and the student who would really know what Pennsylvania's constitution contains must be alert and up to the minute in his research. It is argued that the constitution is now forty-five years old and that it is obsolete. Its age does not harm it and had it been a different sort of a document it might well have survived a century or more. But the trouble with our constitution is that instead of being a bill of rights it is a list of limitations. Its principal features are its prohibitions. Many of these are most wise, but a liberal attitude upon the part of the Courts has stretched some of the provisions to the breaking point, and there is much confusion of judgment as to their interpretation. There should be real and determined authority for doing many things in regard to our system of taxation, our humanitarian plans and our municipal organizations, which seems impossible to secure without further extensive tinkering with our constitution which will make it a maze of dislocated and discordant elements. Insistent as is the appeal for revision, however, it would seem best that we should await the advantage of a better perspective of the results of the great social changes which are now going on in the world, and that we should not rush into the matter of rewriting our constitution until we are fully ready for the task. It will not be an easy matter to handle in the most serene of times, and the question of expense must also be considered, especially as in several States recently the people have failed to ratify the work of constitutional conventions which cost them heavily. In a neighboring Commonwealth, where a con-

vention was held without any adequate preparation or leadership, a year or more was occupied in parley and discussion, and the result is pronounced by authorities to be one of the most unsatisfactory charters in existence.

With all of these facts in view, but with the unquestioned requirement that we approach definitely the task of revising our constitution or completely rewriting it, my judgment is that the present Legislature should authorize the appointment of a commission of twenty-five citizens, representative of the best thought in the various elements of our Commonwealth's life, to study the whole subject of our constitution and to report to the next Legislature its recommendations as to the advisability of a revision; the time, manner and plan of the revision, if such shall be the recommendation, with a complete study of the desirable changes. The machinery for the new convention may then be provided by the Legislature and little time will be lost while a great deal of advantage may be gained by preparing the people for this vitally important matter. This commission should be selected with the greatest care as its work would be of such extraordinary moment. It should be provided with funds adequate for the exhaustive research and preparation which will be required.

OUR RETURNING SOLDIERS.

One of the very first things which should receive our attention is a comprehensive plan for showing to the world that Pennsylvania is grateful to those who were called into the service of the nation during the great war and whose valor and devotion have added new glory to our annals. Pennsylvania's share in the greatest of our national undertakings has been a large one, and, as has always been the case, our duty to the Union was well and thoroughly discharged. Many of our brave young men have made the supreme sacrifice and will rest on foreign fields, others have been wounded and must be cared for by this nation and this State, but three hundred thousand are coming back to us. That we will welcome these champions of Democracy suitably goes without saying, that we will honor them and their deeds by chaste memorials is certain, but we must show our regard for them and our concern

for their welfare in a more substantial way, by looking out for them practically as a State, as communities and as individuals. These brave youths will not ask for philanthropy, but they must have especial consideration in our enactments that they may, in a manner, make up for the time they have given to the Republic. There will be many suggestions as to legislation and many new things will be advanced along this line. We must winnow these carefully and select the practical and constructive. The several departments of the State government may do much in their various benevolent activities to help; other concrete plans must be put into operation as well, and our citizens, and especially those who are employers, should see to it that the man who risked his all for our country, is given a warm-hearted demonstration of our grateful appreciation. The State, as a great employer, should set an example in this matter by preferring its soldiers, as far as possible, in its service.

FINANCIAL PROBLEMS.

Before we are able to plan very effectively for our work during the next four years, we must give direct attention to the questions of revenue. We shall have to face demands for increased appropriations due to the higher cost of maintaining our public institutions, in providing for the improvement of our schools and decent salaries for our teachers, for public works to assist in meeting the problem of unemployment, and for the extension of the State's aid for those maimed in battle and in our industries. While we may be able to prevent waste and extravagance by simplifying and co-ordinating the departments of our government, and may see to it that we shall receive full value for the money which we expend, we cannot, in the present aspect of things and in view of the necessity of progressive development of the public enterprises, attempt much in the way of retrenchment.

The Federal tax gatherer is encroaching so deeply into the fields hitherto reserved for State revenues that the question of funds for State purposes is becoming a serious one. Few people realize the stupendous charge which has been imposed upon us by the plan of taxation which the officials at Washington have devised. Pennsylvania is paying about one-sixth of the entire cost of the administra-

tion of the United States Government. Last year this State contributed in Federal taxes almost six hundred millions of dollars. This year, if the bill now before Congress shall become a law, as now seems probable, the Federal levy upon Pennsylvania will be approximately one billion dollars. The vastness of this sum and the way in which it bears upon us may be better realized by a contemplation of the fact that the sum which the Federal Government proposes to collect from the people of Pennsylvania in taxes in this one year is almost equal to the aggregate amount raised by this Commonwealth for State purposes in all the one hundred and twenty-eight years which have elapsed since the State government was organized. The State revenues for this year will just about equal the interest at four and one-half per cent. upon the amount which we must pay to the United States. These figures are startling and they are of value in showing how important Pennsylvania is in this nation and how modest have been the demands of the Commonwealth upon her own people.

Pennsylvania does not complain under the burdens which she is bearing. She has cheerfully stood by with her men and her money in the national emergency, and she is proud to again have the disposition and the substance to render such notable service to the Republic and to the world. But with our share so large in our national undertakings, we may be pardoned a care that our funds contributed without stint to the Federal purse should not be wasted in incompetent administration nor scattered over the world in chimerical enterprises without practical purpose. Our people are loyal, generous and progressive and have ever given liberally of their means in real philanthropy. They are possessed, too, of much of that very desirable quality known as soundness of mind or hard sense. They realize that real sacrifices must be made to pay the great debts we have incurred in saving civilization and Democracy, but they feel that some plans must be devised for discharging these debts and providing for our own reconstruction and readjustment before we embark upon new international adventures in the uncharted seas of idealism and which may bring down upon our devoted Ship of State the burdens of all mankind. Let us put our own house in reasonably good order before venturing too far in regulating the rest of the world.

QUESTIONS OF INCOME.

Pennsylvania is almost alone among all of the States in that it levies no tax for State purposes upon real estate, but leaves that handiest source of public income intact for the needs of its municipal subdivisions. It is to be hoped that this condition may never be disturbed, as realty, especially as represented by our farms and homes, already bears more than its share of the burdens of taxation. Probably the most equitable tax, considering all things, is the income tax, and I should favor the imposition of a light levy upon personal and corporate incomes as a means of piecing out the revenues of the State, were it not for the limitations in our present constitution which would prevent the grading of such taxes or the exemption of small incomes. This same provision prevents the equitable operation of the present inheritance tax. An amendment to the constitution is now before the Legislature which will permit of the classification and grading of subjects of taxation, and, if it should be favorably acted upon and then approved by the electors, important changes may be made in our tax laws by the next Legislature.

It would seem that the most available source of revenue now in sight is to be found in a change in the law which would provide for a return to the State of a portion of the personal property tax. Until a few years ago the State directed the collection of this tax and a percentage of the total sum received by the county treasurers was paid into the State Treasury. Generous Legislatures, at various times when there were ample balances in the State Treasury, gave increasing shares of this tax to the counties and finally wiped out the State's share in it altogether, although it is still billed as a State tax. In many of the counties little effort is made to assess or collect this tax and carelessness in filing returns and in making payments is tolerated. If the State, through the Auditor General's office, should be authorized to collect this large item of revenue in the same manner that corporation and other State taxes are collected, with the provision that one-half of the amount realized should belong to the State and the other half to the counties, the State's income would be materially increased. Through the operation of a thorough system of collection the counties should receive as much or almost as much as they now gain from this direction. This plan,

with the additional revenues which should come to us this year from the gross earnings tax upon certain of our corporations, from the inheritance taxes and from an increase in the automobile licenses, together with the particularly efficient management of the Department of the Auditor General, should provide the revenue that we shall be likely to need for the present.

EDUCATION.

Pennsylvanians have ever been proud of their public schools, and it is always more or less of a shock when we are forced to contemplate the statistics which show that Pennsylvania is not in the foremost rank among the States in the general efficiency of its school system. While the standards by which such things are measured are not always practical and the authorities quoted are by no means infallible, it is nevertheless a fact that popular education in Pennsylvania is not so highly developed as it is in some other places. This is not as it should be, and the direct practical remedy is expressed in the need of more money for school purposes and a better, more up-to-date school organization. The State of Pennsylvania appropriates more to the support of its public schools than any other State, but it does not give more per capita than any other State. While the funds voted by the Legislature from the State Treasury are generous, the total sum raised in the State through local taxation is materially lower than in several others among the better organized States in the Union.

The question of the compensation of teachers has become a serious one and the general movement for better pay for these deserving public servants has the support of everyone who has given the matter any thought. One of the propositions advanced demands a horizontal increase of twenty-five per cent. in teachers' salaries at the sole expense of the State, and would provide for a direct appropriation of the required amount from the State Treasury. Of course, this is not practicable for many reasons, the first and principal one of which is that such a plan would take so large a proportion of the total revenues of the State, available or obtainable, that there would be little left for any of the other activities of the government. I do not believe, moreover, that an arbitrary increase of a fixed percentage

upon all salaries is what is most needed. My opinion is firmly fixed that in the case of the underpaid primary teacher and the rural teacher, the increase should be upon a much higher percentage than that to be allowed the better paid instructors in the upper grades and in the richer communities. Not that there is not need of increase all along the line, but we must give immediate relief where the need is greatest. There are many hundreds of teachers working in Pennsylvania at the pittance of \$315 a year, and there are between eleven and twelve thousand teachers who receive annually \$500 or less. This is not a living wage for anyone and especially not for a person who is expected to lead a dignified and refined life and to set an example in the community.

Practically every improvement which has been made in our common school system has been the result of mandatory legislation, and it will take more enactments of this same kind to establish a new scale of salaries, or at least minimum salaries, and such other conditions as may be needed. The State will help generously with an increased bounty to the school districts but the State cannot do it all. Increased appropriations made this year must be accompanied with provisions for the local application of the money in salary increases and some method should be worked out for the particular assistance of those districts which already have a high tax rate for school purposes based upon a fair assessment. The child in the most remote township is just as valuable to the State and should receive the same benefits as the child in the most favored city.

There are many avenues for extension and improvement in our educational system, to reach our adult illiterates, the position of Pennsylvania in regard to this condition not being flattering to our self-esteem; to provide vocational education, a necessary corollary to our marvellous industrial development; to teach our backward ones and the unfortunate, to help in Americanizing our foreign-born, and to help in giving our maimed heroes from our nation's battles, and our industrial victims, a chance to learn to be self-sustaining and contented. Some of these matters might best be handled by the Department of Labor and Industry and others, perhaps, by the reorganized Committee of National Defense, but in all of them the Department of Public Instruction should have a hearty, broad-visioned interest.

THE HIGHWAYS.

We are indeed fortunate to have the means in sight to begin a comprehensive road improvement program at a time when there will be need of great public works to steady industrial conditions. With the funds available from the general income of the State and a gradual use of substantial sums from the bond issue which has been authorized by the people for this purpose, supplemented by the assistance, now very material and likely to be greater, of the Federal Government for the post roads, we shall be able to undertake extensive road-building operations in every county. In the coming few years we ought to accomplish much toward providing a net-work of good highways, reaching every important point, with through routes travelable at all times, from end to end of the State, and connecting with the main highways in our neighboring Commonwealths. Of course, the whole amount of the fifty-million-dollar loan, if it should all be used, would not improve the entire State highway system, nor can all of the work planned be done at once, but it will be a wonderful advantage to the people of Pennsylvania to have good main roads and every mile of highway permanently improved will carry its lesson of comfort and facility and local pride with the spirit of progress into our communities. The question of the selection of the roads to be first improved will be an important one, and the problems of the character and plan of the new construction will require much study. My own thought is that the general policy should be the bringing of the greatest good to the greatest number of people, and our actions will be based upon our judgment with this desire constantly in mind. Some changes in the organization and methods of the Highway Department will be necessary to enable it to handle a greatly increased amount of work, and legislation will be required to give your executive and fiscal authorities the legal machinery for issuing and marketing the securities representing the loans which will be required. These are matters of detail which will be dealt with in subsequent recommendations to the General Assembly. We should also give attention to some plans for improving the local road conditions throughout the State. This is one of the most perplexing situations which we have to deal with. The State Highway Department has done much to help the organization and administration of our townships but much more remains to be done.

In considering matters relating to our highways it is necessary to give some attention to the regulation of automobile traffic. The conditions growing out of the war made the greatly extended use of motor-truck transportation a necessity, and with the development of the country this great agent in handling passengers and materials must be reckoned with more and more. We must extend every facility for the business vehicle but we must also enforce our reasonable regulations regarding its use. It was never intended that vehicles as large and as heavy as railway cars should travel the public roads at high speed, and the law provides limits as to the weight and the size of such trucks. No road which can be built, except it be constructed of steel, can stand the stress and impact of such trucks moving at from ten to thirty miles an hour and weighing with their loads from fifteen to thirty tons. The State cannot furnish especial highways for this kind of traffic and it is unreasonable and unfair to the other users of the roads, and to the public who pay for them, to permit the laws to be violated, our roads to be destroyed and our people's lives endangered by such selfish operations. Teeth must be put into the laws governing these conditions and now that the war is over, and the only excuse for tolerating these abuses has passed, we must put a stop to them.

Plans are under consideration for a revision and extension of the automobile license laws. Increases in license fees are warranted and especially so in the case of high-powered cars and trucks of heavy burden. It costs more to build and maintain roads than it did and the income for this purpose from those who use the roads should be increased, there should also be a distinctive license classification and a higher tax upon motor-cars used for business purposes and upon regular passenger and freight routes. The State receives a very large portion of its present revenue from the tax which is laid upon the securities and the gross incomes of corporations engaged in the business of transportation and it should receive a very considerable share of the income of others engaged in similar enterprises in competition with these taxpaying corporations and using the highways maintained at public expense.

In view of the difficulties experienced by our municipalities in the upkeep of their streets it would seem that there should be returned to

these municipalities for highway maintenance a portion of any increase in license fees upon motor-cars received by the State. This would be only fair in consideration of the fact that our cities receive no share of the State highway funds.

SIMPLIFYING OUR GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION.

The development of our public activities has been so rapid since the construction of our present form of government, that our administrative departments have been attached to the general frame without much regard to symmetrical structure or efficient organization. Many of these departments overlap one another in their supposed functions, with the result that there is a lack of system and co-ordination and a duplication of effort which is extravagant and inexcusable. There is a great deal of lost motion in the operation of the State government and there is great opportunity for saving money and getting better results by consolidating and reorganizing some of the departments. I have some plans in mind the details of which will be communicated to the Legislature when a complete study has been made. Among those departments which I have particularly in mind is the Agricultural Department, which should be made more direct in its administration and brought closer to the people. Food production is going to be a more important element in our public affairs for the next few years than it has ever been and Pennsylvania, with the best markets in the world, is fortunately also one of the most favored agricultural States and should meet more completely its own requirements. There is a wonderful field for helpful co-operation with our farmers.

The Forestry, Game, Fisheries and Water Supply Departments, with activities naturally correlated, should be combined into one Department of Conservation, with each of the bureaus representing the present departments co-ordinating and co-operating under direct control.

The Department of State Police should be a real crime preventing and criminal detecting agency, with well-equipped headquarters at the capital, which would have complete records of all felonies, and a force of experts who could be called to the assistance of the peace officers of every county in the State. There is little co-operation be-

tween the counties in police matters, and, with the incomplete police organization and changing officials in many of the counties, there is no continuing authority charged with the apprehension of criminals and the prevention of crime. The Department of State Police should include the other police or corrective agencies of the State which do not require an especially technical force, and the Fire Marshal's work might well be merged with it. I also believe that the game and fish protective force should be a part of the State Constabulary and that men should be selected for this work who could qualify for service in the police in time of necessity.

The Department of Health, although it is already a very cumbersome organization and might be simplified, should include the State Quarantine Service, if, indeed, this service is necessary in view of the provisions of the Federal Government for the same purpose.

AN IMPORTANT WORK.

Perhaps in no department of the State government has there been a greater increase in work and expense than in the Department of Labor and Industry. There appears to be much confusion, much duplication of effort and much that is superfluous and unnecessary in this department. Not that I would minimize its importance, but I feel that there is much that can be dispensed with there which would give an opportunity for increasing its work in lines of greater importance. For instance, I believe that the Commissioner of Labor and Industry should have broader powers in relation to housing problems. Our larger communities can take care of themselves in these matters, but throughout the State there are places where people are living in frightfully unsanitary homes, surrounded by conditions which make for bad health and bad citizenship. Especially is this true in some industrial settlements where families are compelled, in order to be near their employment, to live in places which are unfit for human habitation. We ought to have the power to help in this very important matter.

This department should also be able to give attention more completely to helping our foreign-born. Twenty per cent. of foreign immigration comes to Pennsylvania. When we entered the war, people who did not know them looked on this great body of foreign-born

people as a menace. Their mistake is now apparent, for we have found in the hearts of the foreign-born an unexpected depth of patriotism, keen appreciation of the principles involved in the war and a great eagerness to take this first opportunity to prove their devotion to their adopted country. Their sons have gone in great numbers into the army and navy. They have organized among themselves and bought Liberty Bonds in surprising amounts, and in mines, mills and factory they have worked patriotically and faithfully in war industries. As an example of patriotic work they have done throughout the Commonwealth, I may cite the fact that twenty different races organized in Philadelphia and took sixty millions of Third and Fourth Liberty Bonds. We, who are native-born, have been slow to recognize the great patriotic and industrial asset Pennsylvania has in her foreign-born people. Without them, we could not have developed our resources. They have acquired homes, their children fill our public schools, their industry, their thrift, their devotion to American principles, when properly led, unite to make them a great asset in the future of our State. We propose, during this administration, that the State of Pennsylvania shall get into closer touch with its foreign-born, that these people may realize that the State is their friend, that they are a part of it, and that it cherishes them and will protect them from those who would impose upon them or exploit them.

LABOR AND BUSINESS.

Pennsylvania's labor has filled a grand place during the trying months through which we have passed. Loyal, efficient, resourceful and enterprising, our working men and women have stood by sturdily and have been the principal factor in the development of the marvelous industrial organization which has won the war of the ages. With the menace of autocracy gone forever, labor is just as patriotically setting about the tasks of readjustment. Our American labor leadership is a great conservative force in world politics today and has set itself firmly against the efforts of foreign propagandists to enlist its aid in social and political revolution. Our workers are taking more and more interest in the affairs of the State and the nation and this as it should be. The progress made during the war in the direction of social justice must all be saved for labor. It will be a

wonderful accomplishment if those representing us in the epoch-making conclaves abroad may obtain general agreements as to hours of labor and working conditions throughout the world, that our labor and our industry may be relieved of the menace of over-worked and ill-conditioned competition. A greater restriction of immigration, especially from those countries in social turmoil, must also be enacted to prevent an inrush of undesirables for whom we are not now in position to care. The effort of the labor leaders to secure such legislation as will control the immigration problem has my complete support. With a protective tariff which will enable our new industries to get started and our old-established ones to prosper, with real governmental encouragement for shipping and shipbuilding, and some relief from the grinding taxation upon enterprise and industry which we are now enduring, I believe we shall have a period of great prosperity and unprecedented progress in this country during the next few years. The State and our municipalities should help to tide over the period of commercial doubt and, by courageous undertakings in the way of public improvements, start the industrial revival. The Federal Government should release its strangle-hold upon private enterprise and withdraw its persistent and repressive regulation of every commercial activity, cut down its overgrown force of official non-producers, reduce its appalling expenditures to a normal basis, and save some of the billions taken from the people in the most drastic taxes the world has ever known, for use in domestic works which will bring prosperity and comfort to our own people.

THE FEDERAL AMENDMENTS.

The amendment to the Federal constitution forbidding the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the nation has become a part of the fundamental law of the land. The necessary three-fourths of all of the States of the Union, whose Legislatures sat last year or organized early in this year, have already indicated their ratification. While Pennsylvania's action upon the amendment does not now affect the situation insofar as the ultimate result is concerned I hope that prompt affirmative action may be taken by the Legislature that Pennsylvania may not be out of line with the practically unanimous sentiment of her sister States in the greatest and most far-reaching self-disciplinary measure ever taken by any nation in all history.

The wonderful devotion, superb efficiency and noble patriotism of the women of Pennsylvania should bring them prompt recognition of their claim for and inherent right to full citizenship. If Congress shall submit an amendment giving universal suffrage we should promptly approve it. If Congress shall not act favorably upon the matter a resolution proposing a State amendment should be passed. .

A PRACTICAL NEED.

We should have a new classic geological survey of the State of Pennsylvania. The field work of the last survey was principally made about thirty-five years ago. Meanwhile geological science has progressed more rapidly than at any other period in its history. The institution of a new survey of Pennsylvania will be regarded by all students of philosophic and applied geology as a happy omen harmonious with the temper and the needs of the time. This State has had two such surveys. The first laid down the broad lines of geological structure and was of fundamental importance; the second filled in many details, accumulated a large store of information gathered by many competent workers, but these details of knowledge were not well digested and while its reports were multitudinous they are not ineptly compared to the scattered parts of a great mosaic. It is long since these activities in Pennsylvania ceased while Pennsylvania still remains the storehouse of untold geological wealth, not alone in the potentialities of the new mineral industries but in its unread chapters of the most impressive periods in geological history. Many millions of dollars have been invested elsewhere because of the lack of easily acquired information relative to our vast mineral resources, which might have been employed to better advantage here. A new survey should be a good investment for the State.

OUR CITY PROBLEMS.

Our greatest city needs assistance in the way of developing and regulating legislation. Many minds are now working upon the problem and many divergent views are expressed. There seems to be general agreement, however, upon the essential points of a greater degree of home rule within the limitations of the present constitution,

a better fiscal policy, a reduced legislative body to replace the present unwieldly bi-cameral Councils, and the absolute removal of the forces of public safety from partisan politics. It is to be hoped that the various elements in the situation may get together and that Philadelphia may secure some much needed changes in her administrative organization.

The mine-cave situation in Scranton and thereabouts is still menacing and if an effective and satisfactory agreement cannot be reached that will protect this splendid city and relieve her inhabitants from the blight of this incubus upon the development of their community, the power of the State must not be withheld in remedying an intolerable situation.

Fortunate in having access to the three principal systems of water-borne commerce, Pennsylvania has not been so forward-looking as she might have been in laying plans for the development of her ports on the Delaware, her lake harbor at Erie and her outlet in the Pittsburgh district to the Mississippi Valley. May we not take some definite steps to assist in making practical improvements in all of these directions? With the demands of the National Government upon our taxpaying powers, however, these enterprises seem more than ever to be rightfully a concern of the nation.

Philadelphia draws much of her trade and finds an outlet for her increasing population in the section of the State of New Jersey close at hand. It is remarkable that a bridge or tunnel has not long since connected the great city with the environs separated from it by a river but one-half mile wide. The State of New Jersey has authorized a participation in the building of a bridge and has provided a method for raising the necessary funds to finance one-half of the cost. We should meet this situation promptly and, in conjunction with the city of Philadelphia, should get ready to join in the undertaking. We can spare enough out of our current revenues to bear the State's proportion in what might be made a great memorial structure in honor of our brave soldiers and sailors.

A STATE ART JURY.

There will undoubtedly be a general movement in our communities to erect permanent memorials to our heroes of the war. I trust that

these memorials may be useful and beautiful. Many of the monuments which have been built at our county seats and elsewhere in commemoration of the valorous deeds of the defenders of the Union are inartistic and inappropriate. We ought to take steps now to prevent a repetition of this mistake. An Art Commission to which should be submitted designs for monuments and public structures, including bridges and school houses, would be a desirable addition to our organization, and should raise the whole tone of public architecture in Pennsylvania. It costs no more to have good-looking structures in our public places and the effect upon the community of artistic and well-designed buildings and memorials must be measurably good.

PREVENTION OF STOCK SWINDLING.

The Federal bureau in charge of the regulation of the issue of securities during the war has, in its report, given an estimate that over two hundred millions of dollars are annually abstracted from the people of the United States by means of the sale to the unsuspecting and inexperienced of unsecured or fraudulent stocks and bonds. Just now a favorite plan of the promoters of shady schemes is to offer to trade Liberty Bonds for other so-called securities promising a higher interest return. Much of this kind of business is going on in Pennsylvania to the great harm of our people. The disappointment and loss occasioned by the inevitable failure of these schemes shakes the confidence of the victims in all forms of investment, discourages thrift and harms legitimate enterprise. We should have a law giving the Commissioner of Banking the power to investigate and report upon all corporations seeking to sell securities to our people, and to forbid the sale of any stocks or bonds here without his authority.

A COUNCIL OF PUBLIC WELFARE.

The Council of National Defense and Committee of Public Safety should be continued in a modified form to help in meeting the problems of peace. The Council of National Defense won the commendation of the officials at Washington and was ranked as the best and most efficient organization of the kind in the whole country. It has developed and given to the State many useful agencies and has

brought into public life many citizens who will add greatly to our force of trained public servants. These men and women should not be allowed to become disorganized and their usefulness lost to the State. The body should be continued as a Council of Public Welfare, and some of the lines of duty which it has been handling as war measures should be continued as serviceable adjuncts to the State government in times of peace. Certain of the agricultural, educational and conservation plans of the Council should be continued and enlarged, and the excellent system of volunteer police which has brought a fine body of citizens into touch with the authorities throughout the State, should be provided for as a permanent body.

MILITARY REORGANIZATION.

In the absence of definite action by the United States Government for the re-establishment and reorganization of the army, it is difficult to plan for the military establishment of the State. The Pennsylvania Reserve Militia, however, is well organized and well equipped and is a credit to the State, its officers and its membership. This organization should be strengthened and merged with the National Guard when we come to re-establish that organization. The wonderful record of our Pennsylvania National Guard units in the greatest battles in history, is a source of pride to every citizen of the State. The reorganization of the National Guard of Pennsylvania must be undertaken as early as possible and the splendid traditions of that historic force preserved for the glory of the State. Our discharged soldiers and former guardsmen must be invited to return to the service and every effort made to again build up our force of trained citizen soldiery.

NEW HUMANE LEGISLATION.

The important subjects of old age pensions and insurance against sickness will come before the Legislature in the shape of reports from the commissions appointed two years ago to investigate these new lines of humane provision in Pennsylvania. I do not know whether the work of these commissions has proceeded far enough to enable them to make definite recommendations. These matters will have to be given close attention and possibly should be referred together

to a joint commission which could devise plans for welding them into a tangible relation with one another and then bring the whole subject up for inclusion in the State's social program. The report of the commission for the codification of the banking laws will also be awaited with much interest. This is an important subject especially in view of the great functions which the banks are performing in the country at this time.

THE CAPITOL EXTENSION.

Plans of great artistic merit and utility have been considered for the improvement of the State's property in Harrisburg and the development of the Capitol Park. We should proceed with this and also erect buildings in accordance with the adopted scheme to house the departments which are now scattered about the city and over the State. This is in line with the thought that the State should set an example in proceeding with construction during the brief period of business uncertainty which is possibly before us.

CONCLUSION.

This is a long message, and yet I have barely touched upon the things of importance which should receive our attention. These are times of action and of movement, and we in this wonderfully blessed State must give the best that is in us to promote the happiness and welfare of our splendid people. I have called about me finely qualified citizens to administer your government and to direct the great work which we are here to do. I expect to give my best energies and my full attention to the serious duties of my office and I shall expect every servant of the State to do the same, and to justify the faith and trust which you have shown in us. I ask your co-operation and your prayers for the State and for those who are trying their best to serve you. In the language of that exalted patriot and leader who for a generation "stood four square against all the evil winds that blew" and who lay down to his eternal rest only a few days ago: "This country will not be a good place for any of us to live in unless we make it a good place for all of us to live in." That is what we shall try to accomplish in Pennsylvania, and we want you to help us all the time.

WILLIAM C. SPROUL.